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The Yale Political Monthly

An Undergraduate Publication

When War Is More Moral Than Peace

Peace Is not Always Beneficial or Just

Fighting the Imperial President

The Second Part of Our Interview with Jim Wright

ACT UP IS ITS OWN WORST ENEMY

Its Extremism Will Compromise Its Long-Term Success

Beyond Free Expression

How Anti-War Graffiti Has Harmed the Anti-War Movement

The War in the Gulf

A Chronicle of Military and Political Events

Observations

Lithuania: The Evil Empire Strikes Back

VOLUME 12, NUMBER 5 ♡ MARCH 1991

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MARCH, 1991

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Pollitt Plan recognized and the Prown Report discussed. Implementation of the plan's provisions seems to have been slow, and for that, the administration deserves prodding.

6 I, too, am concerned by the absence of concrete administrative action in support of the Pollitt Plan. As the months pass, implementation of the measures designed to make the plan both palatable and profitable appears more unlikely.

It has become clear at this point that not only faculty, but University commitment to the aims of the Pollitt Plan must be intensified, that the Plan not be abandoned.

Student reaction is, as expected, in opposition to the general proposition that Teaching Fellows be cut. Should the provisions of the Prown Report take effect, however, the cuts would be accompanied by an increase in undergraduate contact with full-time faculty. It would seem that such understanding would largely mitigate student alarm, and far fewer undergraduates would then oppose the proposition. And, as outlined in the Prown Report, measures such as optional sections would ensure placement in a section for every student who so requested.

Perhaps one remedy for the potential "vacuum" in teaching is to hire additional full-time faculty. The Prown Report recognized (page 7) that overall faculty size decreased by over five percent between 1978-9 and 1987-8, while the number of course enrollments in-

creased. Given the decrease in graduate student teaching, it seems reasonable that the University not only request that current faculty spend more time teaching, but that it provide the funds needed in order to hire more faculty. This might be difficult to expect from a University so committed to paring its operating budget. We must hope that the Administration is not so blinded by their questionable claims of financial insolvency to betray the aims which motivated the Prown committee study and the Pollitt Plan.

The Pollitt Plan may indeed be the right program at the wrong time. Without further faculty and administrative support, the program is destined to harm Yale's academic offerings. The realities of administration-imposed budgetary austerity and an indiscernible progress towards the goals of the Pollitt Plan suggest re-examination of the program.

At the same time, the plan's goal of accelerating graduate students' completion of their doctorate and increasing undergraduate contact with full-time faculty is not only laudable, but crucial for both the teaching fellows and the undergraduates. The implementation of the Pollitt Plan was an admirable step which is now compromised by uncertain financial and institutional commitment to support the current program. The Pollitt Plan remains a worthwhile program, one that the University must not abandon, but rescue with haste.

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When War Is More Moral Than Peace

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Peter Brown

Recent events in the Persian Gulf prove once again what has long been obvious—the notion of “peace” has become a universal sacred cow. The peace marchers demand it, politicians fervently embrace it, the media exalts it, and the American people wallow in it. Even many of the members of Congress who agonized over their vote to allow the use of force against Iraq justified their decision to their constituents, and perhaps even to themselves, as the “last best chance for peace.” It is more than an intellectual curiosity why countless influential Americans across the political spectrum who have placed themselves on the “side of peace” have been so shy about articulating exactly what peace is, why it is so terrific, and why we must go to lengths to attain it. Statements praising the wonders of peace have assumed an almost ritualistic character, although the very concept of peace seems to grow ever more vague. Indeed, the more nebulous the notion of peace has become, the easier it is to speak well of it. The proposition that peace is morally superior to war does not need to be defended any longer, but with seductive logic and dubious premises, it is a proposition which merely proclaims its own validity. The ideas that peace is always preferable to war and that war must necessarily be the national option of “last resort” are views which are argued more from vehemence and repetition than from common sense or self-evidence.

Major rhetorical trump cards of the anti-war activists and, for that matter, anyone who proudly claims to “want peace” are the professed love and concern for human life and the hatred of weapons and organized, premeditated violence for any purpose at all. Individuals of this stripe are

prone to threadbare moralizing about body-bags, blood and guts, and all the other nasty effects of military force in action, all the while contending that raw human survival is a value which supersedes all others. Their principal adversaries, who might like to be called the “realists,” normally, after some hesitation, are perfectly content to concede the “pacifists” the role of righteous humanitarians, although they maintain somberly that war is sometimes necessary and that there are things worth killing and dying for, things which the “pacifists” are wont to take for granted. The problem is that both the “pacifists” and the “realists” are ignorant of or shove comfortably into oblivion a central fact: in the twentieth century the number of people killed by governments in “peacetime” non-military operations surpasses total combat deaths by a staggering amount.

To see this, one might proceed with a historical “laundry list” of government-perpetrated killings: the Armenians from 1915-1920 (1.5 to 3 million killed), the Jews and other European nationals from 1939-1945 (7 to 10 million slaughtered), Burundi’s acquiescence in the murdering of some 100,000 Hutu, Indonesia’s 1965 massacres of some 600,000 “subversives” and its 1975 elimination of some 100,000 East Timorians, Pakistan’s eventual killing of 1 to 3 million Bengalis in 1971, as well as untold hundreds of thousands shot or deliberately starved to death in Mozambique, Ethiopia, Namibia, and Angola.¹ And although some of these killings took place during wartime, none were of a military nature. They were often described by their perpetrators as “pacifications,” or efforts to impose a peace of an entirely new

The more nebulous the notion of peace, the easier it is to speak well of it

Peter Brown is a Senior in Morse.

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Together the Soviet and Chinese regimes have accounted for over 80 million peacetime deaths

order.

For protesters during the Vietnam War, as today during us involvement in the Persian Gulf and Central America, "stop the killing" was a familiar battle cry. As a direct result of the us withdrawal from Indochina, the Communists conquered South Vietnam and Laos and the Khmer Rouge rose to power in Cambodia. Some 2 to 3 million people died during the new "peace" which the Communists were able to instate. A very dubious "peace" that is, when compared with the 1.2 million total battle deaths incurred during the Vietnam War. Put differently, the Khmer Rouge alone in four years of "peace" slaughtered 65% more people than died on the battlefield in ten years of military operations.²

In all honesty, one must not forget that Western democracies have been somewhat responsible for peacetime deaths. Witness the French massacre of some 40,000 Algerians before and during the Algerian War, and recall willful Allied complicity in the forced repatriation of some 2,250,000 Soviet nationals found in post-war Western Europe, some 800,000 of whom were executed by the Soviets or died in or traveling to slave labor camps.³ Democracies have executed several thousand people for conventional crimes such as murder, rape, and treason. It must be pointed out that as staggering as these figures may seem, they pale in comparison with peacetime deeds of the true twentieth century superkillers—the Soviet Union and China.

Not coincidentally the regimes which have committed the most peacetime atrocities are also responsible for starting many of this century

In the interest of fairness, one may choose to exclude the pernicious results of the "famines" in the Soviet Union from 1921-1922 and in China from 1958-1961 which killed 4 million and 27 million respectively. Both "famines" occurred as a direct result of the collectivization of agriculture and might be better characterized as stupid governmental policy than murderous intent. Stalin's starvation of the Ukraine in the 1930s, intended to force the Ukrainians to buckle under the heel of his authoritarian regime, was no accident and resulted in the deaths of perhaps 10 million people. All told, those killed at the hand of the Stalin regime due to the non-war related crimes of starvation, beatings, tortures, and massacres number in the neighborhood of 40 million. (Estimates range from 20 million to 83 million; the figures are so questionable because many of the census takers were themselves executed).⁴ After Stalin's death, the dying in the gulags, in

prisons, and during brutal crackdowns from Budapest to Vilnius continued; the total number killed by the Soviet regime is surely considerably higher. The number of people deliberately snuffed out by the Communist Chinese regime from the rise of Mao through Tiananmen to the present, taking an average of the estimated figures, is about 45 million.⁵ In other words, the Soviet and Chinese regimes have in all certainty accounted for over 80 million peacetime deaths, and this figure could very easily be far higher.

To put this all in perspective, the number of people killed by governments during non-military operations in the twentieth century probably totals about 120 million. One hundred and twenty million human beings, that is, who perished with scarcely an international wimper (the wimperers were usually preoccupied with whatever wars were going on). Compare this with the 36 million combat deaths which occurred during the same time period (24 million of which account for the casualties occurring in the two world wars).⁶ The vast majority of those 120 million people were completely helpless and defenseless, and they often suffered for months or years before they met their fate. The 36 million soldiers, in contrast, were at least partially armed, trained, and protected and usually died swiftly. A major lesson of the twentieth century is thus made clear: peace is no picnic.

Not coincidentally, the same regimes which willfully committed these unspeakable peacetime atrocities are almost exclusively authoritarian in character and have themselves, through their aggression and militarism, been a principal cause of many of the wars which have provoked much disproportionate world outcry. It is clear, therefore, that Western democracies should not fear war or weapons, but totalitarian or theocratic regimes which insist upon using wars and weapons to impose their own pernicious notions of "peace." Indeed, Western democracies might do well to acquire many more weapons and to be better prepared to fight and win wars in order to prevent any more such "peace" from being wrought upon humanity.

At the very least, it does not seem unreasonable to insist that Western liberals clarify themselves when they say that they "want peace" or that we ought to "give peace a chance." Are we really prepared to look at ourselves in the mirror and live with the likely consequences of today's various Central American "peace plans" which do not define "peace"

WHEN WAR IS MORE MORAL THAN PEACE

at all and presuppose a moral symmetry between us and Soviet past conduct and present objectives: Are we really likely to get the kind of peace for which we are striving as the result of the proposed Middle East "peace conference" which would sit the Israelis at the same negotiating table as terrorist PLO representatives or their sympathizers in the Syrian, Jordanian, and Lebanese governments who define themselves in terms of the destruction of the Jewish state? Of course, it should go without saying that when citizens in comfortable Western democracies, largely unaware of or incapable of conceptualizing the many horrors of this century, speak of peace, they mean something more like the peace to which they are accustomed. This is the sort of peace in which people accused of crimes are treated fairly, in which basic political and religious freedoms are respected, and in which property and economic rights are honored. In peaceful societies such as ours which are based upon principles of pluralism and self-governance, the widespread killing of citizens by a government does not and cannot occur. It is only the sort of peace which we ourselves know that we are justified in demanding. We must never let our scruples about making war or our infatuation with ill-defined "peace" alter that central moral truth. We must never forget that for many inhabitants of a world which is still mostly unfree, "peace" means something quite different from that ideal for which Western liberals march. Until the world can obtain the good kind of peace and discover a way to maintain it, war will, on occasion, continue to be the morally correct policy for democracies to pursue.

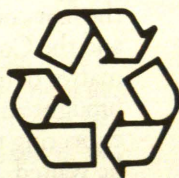
Notes

- 1 R. J. Rummel, "War Isn't This Century's Biggest Killer," *The Wall Street Journal*, 7 July 1986, page 12.
- 2 *ibid.*
- 3 *ibid.*
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 *ibid.*
- 6 Seabury, *War: Ends and Means*, Basic Books (New York), page 263.

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Fighting the Imperial President

An Interview with Jim Wright

The Nicaraguan accord of 1986 was to some degree your brainchild. How, then, do you view Violetta Chamorro's concession to Humberto Ortega? How does that arrangement affect her politically in the long run?

I think it is a necessary thing for the success of the country. Abraham Lincoln made the point that a house divided against itself cannot stand. That country has been in the throes of a decade-long war. One might refer to it as a civil war. It was a war financed by the United States in an effort to overthrow the government of Nicaragua—and unsuccessfully, I might add. The bitterness and lingering hatred of so long a bloody war—it took some thirty or forty thousand lives—needs a healing agent if they are to have one nation under God indivisible. If there is to be any sort of public policy, it has to be reconciliation. I salute Violetta Chamorro for having been wise enough to realize the need for reconciliation if there is to be a viable government in Nicaragua. It was necessary from the psychological standpoint. When she was elected president, she had to demonstrate that she was not out for the spoils, was not there to punish the opposition. She was there to build a better country and to call upon everyone to join hands and work together for the good of the nation. Let's go a step beyond the psychological and talk in terms of the practical. Mrs. Chamorro's victory came through a coalition of many political parties—including both extreme right-wing parties and the Communist Party. There is no unifying ideology among all those parties, which voted for her because they opposed the

Sandinistas. The biggest single party was the Sandinista Party. It won more seats in the legislative assembly than any other, and I am inclined to believe, more than all the parties combined. In any event, they are the dominant force in the legislature. Obviously the president has to have the cooperation of the legislature if she is to achieve any of her objectives. It is essential, therefore, that she demonstrate her willingness to work with them and to let them share in some of the powers of the government. I think she has acted wisely. I certainly would not want to minimize the difficulties confronting that war-wracked country in its efforts to claw out a toehold on the road to economic recovery.

Many conservatives are leery of any Congressional involvement in foreign policy. They argue that because Congressmen are not specialists in the field, they really have no right to be involved. How do you see Congress' role in this regard?

From the very beginning, foreign policy has been shared by the Congress and the president. One of the great authors has said that the Constitution gives what he termed a right to struggle for dominance in foreign policy. One of the first conflicts that arose between a president and the Congress—perhaps the first—was over a matter of foreign policy. George Washington brought an Indian treaty to the Senate in person, expecting them to ratify it perfunctorily while he waited. The Senate told the President that they would take it under advisement, assign it to committees, subject it to hearings and to debate, and vote upon it in regular time without his being there. President Washington stalked off in high dudgeon, vowing never to return to the

From the very beginning foreign policy has been shared by the Congress and the president

Continued from YPM Volume 12, Number 4

Senate. As far as it is known, he never did. There have even been times in history when the Congress has been too dominant in foreign policy. There was a Senator from Georgia in 1906 who proclaimed that it is Congress and not the president that had supreme power in foreign affairs. Well, that is going too far. I believe that following the Civil War, the Congress, in its unreasoning opposition to President Johnson, went much too far in determining whether the President could or could not appoint or fire the Secretary of War. But to assume that Congress has no role other than to be passive and acquiescent and simply to give a free hand to the president to do what he wants to is to ignore the Constitution. The Constitution never anticipated that. In fact, it proclaimed that Congress shall have power to declare war. That is unequivocal. The president may not declare war, he may not just go out and start a war. Now he is the commander-in-chief. What was the origin of the term 'commander-in-chief'? Was it to demonstrate the executive's power over Congress? No; it was to demonstrate the power of civilians over the military. That was the reason why the elected president was declared commander-in-chief of the armed services: so that he, not some professional military general, would be in charge when we are attacked, when we do not attack, against whom we go to war, whether we stay at peace—and keep such power in the civilian realm, and not the other way around. That's why they made the president commander-in-chief. That does not mean that the president is to not be questioned, that he is to be blindly obeyed by the Congress. That is ridiculous. If you go back and read the debates surrounding the Constitutional Convention, you will see that powers were given to the Congress to initiate taxes, to raise armies, to ratify treaties, to ratify appointments of ambassadorships. There was a deliberate means of checking the otherwise runaway power of the president in foreign affairs. So I think it is ridiculous to assume that the Congress should give the president a blank check. Otherwise, why have a Congress?

The situation is different now from what it was a few decades ago, when committee chairmen were all-powerful and one had either to toe the line or face ostracism from one's peers. Is the current system an improvement?

The reforms of the 1970s reduced the power of the committee chairmen, establishing a means for the majority of the party to remove

them if a majority of the party chooses to do so, and that has been done on some occasions, albeit rarely. It has, however, made the committee chairmen more responsible to the wishes of the majority in many instances. It also took from the committee chairmen the power to assign members of the committee to subcommittees and to appoint subcommittee chairmen. In so doing, it dispersed authority to a greater base. That can be good or bad. If you simply disperse authority and impose leadership in no other place, then you have anarchy. If you force authority on the barons, which is to say, make each committee chairman supreme in his realm, that is open to question. Then you have such a cacophony of leadership that it runs against its own purposes. You have altogether twenty-one committee chairmen. There is no way to assure the will of the majority of the members is carried out if, for example, twenty-one arbitrary committee chairmen, hoary with age, drunk with power, could simply decide they are not going to let bills out on the floor for members to vote upon. That has happened with some committee chairmen. So there has to be a counterbalance. The counterbalance, as I see it, has to be a leadership elected by the membership, which has, and is willing to assert, the powers of scheduling in such a way as to help the committee assist them to be a servant, and not a master, of the body from which it springs. Now that is all pretty, but it takes a thousand individual deeds to make it work. But I think you understand what I basically think.

Do you find it odd to be at the mercy of others for a change rather than actively shaping events yourself?

Yes, it is a change. For anyone who has spent the last thirty-four years of his life making things happen, it is a shock to your nervous system to be a spectator of events. But that happens to all of us eventually, does it not? It is not given to everyone to be the center mover of the stage for all of his or her life, and I think part of maturing is learning to make a transition gracefully to that of a citizen who has some things to say and who has the opportunity such as the one you are giving me to express opinions, but who is not as capable as he once was of controlling and directing the flow of events.

II

The president was made commander-in-chief of the armed forces to demonstrate the power of civilians over the military, not the power of the executive over the legislature

ACT UP Is Its Own Worst Enemy

Andrew Sullivan

12

ACT UP's version of non-violence might surprise those more used to speak-outs on the Cross Campus

On 28 November 1990, Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis H. Sullivan, MD came to Yale to give a Tetelman Fellowship lecture. The main topic of his talk was the role of personal responsibility in the care for and prevention of disease. Also present that day were about twenty members of the New Haven branch of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, including the group's founder, Larry Kramer. Although the lecture was not primarily about acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, these members of ACT UP nevertheless found it necessary to shout Secretary Sullivan down, accusing him of "genocide" because his department had not implemented all of the proposals that the organization advocates. Despite the disruption, Secretary Sullivan finished his speech and received a standing ovation from the other 230 people in Battell Chapel.

Thus proceeded a typical ACT UP protest. Instead of respecting Secretary Sullivan's right to free speech and the right of the audience to hear what he had to say, the protesters took the floor themselves and inveighed against the Secretary with a series of personal attacks. The main focus of these attacks was that the Secretary was personally responsible for the continued spread of AIDS; interviewed after the speech, protester Patrick Greaney said, "How can he speak about 'personal responsibility' when he's responsible for the thousands dying, thousands getting infected?"¹ Mr. Kramer was more explicit: "How can the University invite this murderer to speak?" he asked the *Yale Daily News* reporter who interviewed him.²

This sort of militant protest has not occurred at Yale since the early 1970s. One might think, then, that Secretary Sullivan is ACT UP's Public Enemy No. 1. In fact, however, this is a very common tactic of ACT UP, an organization founded in 1987 by members of the Gay

Andrew Sullivan is a Sophomore in Berkeley and an Associate Editor of the YPM.

Men's Health Crisis who felt that the GMHC was not taking an active enough stand in favor of expanded AIDS research. In the past few years, branches of ACT UP have held demonstrations at the National Institutes of Health, at International AIDS Conferences, and at the offices of pharmaceutical manufacturers to protest delays in the development of drugs to combat the effects of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), the high prices of those drugs, research and prevention funding they deem insufficient, and United States immigration rules prohibiting people infected with HIV from entering the country. Recently, protesters have argued that the US Government should not be wasting money on a war against Iraq while the AIDS epidemic continues to spread.

Although these protests are described by ACT UP and news organizations as "non-violent," ACT UP's version of non-violence might surprise those more used to speak-outs on the Cross Campus. When the New York City Health Commissioner reduced his estimate of the number of AIDS cases in New York City by one-half in 1988, protesters responded by throwing paint and pasting posters on the walls of his house and calling him a Nazi. Mr. Kramer threatened at a public meeting of the Food and Drug Administration in 1989 that "if we do not get these drugs, you will see an uprising the like of which you have never seen before since [*sic*] the Vietnam War in this country. We will sabotage all of your Phase II studies."³ His concrete threat then was to ruin the FDA's clinical trials of AIDS drugs unless a "parallel-track" scheme were implemented which would let people with AIDS use experimental drugs before they are approved by the FDA; the FDA soon implemented this program. But more ominously, Mr. Kramer's threat contained a thinly veiled warning of violent protest to come. He was more explicit in June 1990, when he called for "a fucking riot" to coincide with the International AIDS Conference in San Francisco. There was no violence, much to Mr. Kramer's disappointment⁴, but not

ACT UP IS ITS OWN WORST ENEMY

coincidentally ACT UP members were able to obtain several speaking slots at the conference.

But these are not ACT UP's only targets. The organization has extended what it has called its "war" to the harassment of individuals and groups whose effect on the AIDS crisis is more dubious. The most well-known such protest took place in December 1989 at St Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. While a crowd chanted slogans outside, several protesters tried to shout down Bishop John Cardinal O'Connor's sermon, liberally tossing condoms at the other parishioners. One man threw down his communion wafer, desecrating what Catholics and many other Christians believe to be the body of Christ. Although this demonstration's purpose was to convince the Church to abandon its opposition to the use of condoms, its main effect was to earn ACT UP condemnation from the press and Mayor-elect David N. Dinkins. The following June, protesters attempted to disrupt an ordination at Boston's Holy Cross Cathedral, painting graffiti attacking Cardinal Bernard Law on the sidewalk and throwing condoms at exiting worshipers.

In more wholesale attempts to disrupt the power structure, ACT UP has staged blockades of New York streets, the New York Stock Exchange, and Grand Central Terminal. It has also harassed journalists who have criticized its tactics, repeatedly calling John Leo of *U.S. News and World Report* at 4 AM and sending hundreds of threatening "Christmas cards" to the home of Gina Kolata of *The New York Times*. In late January, members of ACT UP made it onto the sets of CBS News and The MacNeil/Lehrer Report and berated the respective anchors on camera before being led away.

When asked why they employ these sorts of extreme tactics, ACT UP members respond that the situation is extreme enough to warrant them. When interviewed by the *Yale Daily News* last November, Mr. Kramer explained "It's a plague... We're desperate. We've tried everything but still nothing is being done. What else can we do?"⁵ In a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece, he said much the same thing:

*It is beyond comprehension why, in a presumably civilized country, in the modern era, such a continuing, extraordinary destruction of life is being attended to so tentatively, so meekly, and in such a cowardly fashion.*⁶

This attitude also appears in the ubiquitous stickers ACT UP's members post on street signs in cities where its chapters are located. It appears

that in ACT UP's eyes everyone who does not support a "Manhattan Project" to combat HIV is guilty of genocide, from the President down to Metro-North commuters.

But to what extent is this an "extraordinary destruction of life?" And to what extent is "nothing being done?" ACT UP comes armed with a battery of nasty-sounding statistics; "The government has blood on its hands: one AIDS death every ten minutes," reads one sticker. Much noise has been made about the total number of deaths from AIDS in the United States recently surpassing 100,000. But what does this number really mean? It is a large number, to be sure, about 42,000 more than the number of US soldiers who died during the Vietnam War. Then again, a brief glance at the American Cancer Society's *Cancer Facts and Figures* tells us that in 1989 alone 142,000 people died of lung cancer.⁸ Slightly fewer people, 96,914, will probably die from injuries in the year between September 1990 and August 1991.⁹

More useful are comparisons of figures of deaths per year. Table 1 lists the Office of Management and Budget statistics on the number of projected deaths due to various causes in fiscal 1991, the average time between these deaths (a frequent ACT UP measure), and the amount of money being spent on research in each area.

The huge epidemic against which ACT UP activists wish to mobilize is clearly, at least in the United States, not nearly as extensive as Mr. Kramer would like us to believe. Although AIDS is certainly widespread—it is, for example, the infectious disease responsible for the most deaths—it pales in comparison with the major killers of Americans today. And

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"We're desperate. We've tried everything but still nothing is being done"

Table 1: AIDS Versus Other Selected Causes of Death				
Cause of Death	Est. 1991 Deaths	Rate/ 100K	Min/ Death	Funds 1991*
AIDS	47,500	19.0	11:00	1,122
Diabetes	48,869	19.5	10:45	262
Homicide & suicide	55,939	22.4	9:25	n/a
Pneumonia				
& influenza	81,151	32.4	6:30	†
Lung disease	89,629	35.9	5:50	†
Injuries	96,914	38.7	5:25	45
Stroke	145,989	58.4	3:35	76
Cancer	512,821	205.1	1:00	1,566
Heart disease	730,815	292.3	0:45	663
Total deaths	2,207,528	883.0	0:15	

Source: Office of Management and Budget, *Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1992*. Per-100K figures calculated from a population of 250 million.
* Research, \$M
† Not listed

although the incidence of AIDS is projected to increase over the next few years, new CDC projections do not reflect a huge ballooning in the growth of the disease, as Table II shows.

This spreading warrants prevention efforts, to be sure. But whether or not it warrants extraordinary increases in research funding is quite another question. ACT UP claims that "nothing is being done" despite the fact that the federal government spends 1.122 billion dollars on AIDS research, more money than it spends on any other disease except cancer. What ACT UP would prefer, Mr. Kramer's "Manhattan Project," would inevitably in this era of tight budgets take substantial funds away from what Table I suggests are more im-

I4

Source: CDC, *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report Recommendations and Reports*, 30 November 1990, page 12.

Table II: The Spread of AIDS
Year Projected Percent
AIDS Deaths increase

1989	31,000-34,000	n/a
1990	37,000-42,000	21%*
1991	43,000-52,000	20%
1992	49,000-64,000	19%
1993	53,000-76,000	14%

*Increase of midpoint of previous year's estimates.

Table I which get far less research funding. To its credit, ACT UP now lobbies more forcefully for national health care and an increase in general research funding, both of which, if enacted, would benefit AIDS research and prevention without necessitating the cutting of the budgets of other such programs. This, however, remains a lower priority for ACT UP; more significantly, it has failed even to try to convince American tax payers that a national health care program is worth the huge additional government expenditure.

Although its lobbying tactics show contempt for its opponents, and although its case for a vast expansion in AIDS research is weak, ACT UP is not entirely in the wrong. Certain goals of its lobbying are quite reasonable, in particular expanded AIDS education, prevention, and the reduction of bureaucratic red tape in the NIH and CDC. The limits on government expenditures imposed by the recent budget agreement and the declining tax revenues from a shrinking economy certainly indicate that a streamlining of the federal research program would be helpful. Expanded prevention efforts, moreover, already about half of AIDS spending, would probably make sense given that Medicaid and Medicare, difficult-to-limit entitlements, are spending an increased

amount of money on AIDS treatment. This total was \$780 million in fiscal 1990, and if all those entitled to federally funded azidothymidine (AZT) treatment were to receive it, federal spending for AIDS treatment alone could rise by another \$1.6 billion.¹⁰ But given the amount being spent on AIDS research, it might, in fact, make sense to transfer funds from research to prevention; if this takes the form of drug treatment, it would have additional very positive effects. ACT UP's education and prevention programs have themselves certainly helped this effort, and with the possible exception of its illicit needle exchanges, they are a good example for the government to consider in its planning.

But however important these programs are to the rank and file of ACT UP, the fact remains that the organization is most visible in its frequent protests. What the protests show about ACT UP is not that it is a caring association dedicated to reducing suffering from the effects of HIV. Instead, it is a group of individuals who seem to lack any respect for the government, its officials, and their fellow citizens; it is a militant coalition which ignores all issues except its own and rains contempt on anyone who disagrees or even contends that other issues are more important; it is an organization which accomplishes its goals not by persuasion but by threats and intimidation. In doing so, ACT UP has achieved many of its goals. But it has also perfected the art of alienation, not only of its opponents, but also of its potential supporters. In a democracy, that sort of strategy is not appropriate, and it will not be successful in the long term. Already, AIDS researchers, tired of continued harassment by ACT UP, are considering abandoning their efforts. If ACT UP's organizers do not begin to show respect for their fellow human beings, ACT UP's supporters are likely to abandon them as well.

Notes

¹ *Yale Daily News*, November 29, 1990, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³ Mr. Kramer, as quoted in *The New York Times*, 11 March 1990, p. E5.

⁴ John Leo, *US News and World Report*, 9 July 1990, p. 18.

⁵ *Yale Daily News*, November 29, 1990.

⁶ Mr. Kramer, *The New York Times*, 16 July 1990.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ American Cancer Society, *Cancer Facts and Figures 1989*, p. 8.

⁹ Office of Management and Budget, *Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1992, 1991*.

¹⁰ *The Washington Post*, 19 June 1990, Health Magazine p. 9.

ACT UP has perfected the art of alienation not only of its opponents, but of its potential supporters as well

Beyond Free Expression

15

Neil Fulton

When the first coalition aircraft dropped their bombs on Iraqi targets, a brutal conflict began in the Middle East. At the same time a conflict of a different sort which had been simmering on the home front intensified. Arguments about the justification for the attack became much more impassioned, relations between people of different viewpoints were strained, and tensions ran high. In general the American people firmly supported the war and the public viewed anti-war sympathizers with disdain. Anti-war sentiment at Yale was not, however, dampened by the unpopularity of the protesters' beliefs, and their activities continued with a Teach-In at Battel Chapel, prayer sessions for peace, and rallies on Beinecke Plaza and the Cross Campus opposing the war in the Gulf.

Banners appeared in dorm room windows expressing views on both sides of the issue from "Go USA! Win this war!" to "War cannot make peace!" American flags popped up all over campus. Although not everyone agreed with the views presented, the method of presenting these views went, on the whole, unquestioned. After all, the right to make statements expressing one's political beliefs is protected by the First Amendment. The situation took an unfortunate turn, however, thanks to at least one overzealous anti-war protester and a few cans of spray paint.

The initial appearance of anti-war graffiti was tolerated, for the most part, when it was limited to a few peace signs painted on obscure corners of buildings and on the Calder sculpture in Hewitt Quadrangle. Although many individuals were upset by these incidents, the outcry these acts caused paled in comparison with the resentment engendered by the next and most contro-

versial appearance of such graffiti, the defacement of the war memorial.

The World War I monument on Beinecke Plaza is one of Yale's most beautiful and most famous monuments. Its cold grey marble and black onyx received a new look from one or more anti-war protesters with some red paint. Two highly visible, red splotches of paint defaced the monument, and a vast majority of the Yale community was incensed. Since then, the talk about the defacing of the monument has not stopped, and a new sense of ill will towards anti-war protesters has arisen on campus. Numerous articles and letters to the editor have appeared in Yale's campus publications. The person or persons responsible for the graffiti were called everything from the accurate "vandals," to the exaggerated "terrorists," to many choice epithets of an obscene nature.

A good deal of ink has already been expended on this subject. It is necessary to approach this problem differently, however: to ignore the rhetoric that has surrounded the incident and consider some of its possible causes and effects, an approach which has, unfortunately, been neglected. It is important to evaluate the ethical issues involved in order to understand the full effects of the graffiti.

I have been opposed to the war since the outset. I would have liked for sanctions to have been given a longer period of time to work, but the Bush Administration, responding to its interpretation of political realities at home and abroad, decided otherwise. I have not participated in anti-war rallies; I did not really think my voice could do much among the din of the protesters. I do, however, have a great deal of respect for the protesters who

The initial appearance of the graffiti was tolerated, but the defacing of the war memorial was felt to be an outrage

Neil Fulton is a Freshman in Pierson.

feel strongly enough about their beliefs to be on the front lines and who sincerely think that they can make a difference. These people are exercising a right granted to them by the Bill of Rights: their right to express their views, no matter how unpopular they may be. That is the tricky part. Which forms of expression are protected by the First Amendment and which are not? What ways of getting a point across are not merely dramatic, but illegal and destructive—destructive not only to property, but also to the very ideal that allows that group the opportunity to express their beliefs?

One would have to think that, as vehemently as the Founding Fathers defended free speech, they would probably have considered the slopping of paint on a war memorial or a work of art an abuse of this right. The First Amendment was designed to protect reasoned, articulate dialogue between disparate groups of people expressing differing viewpoints and philosophies. It was not intended to protect dangerous or destructive forms of expression.

Perhaps the most frightening part of the whole graffiti protest is the crudeness of this latest approach. To be sure, anti-war protesters, for the most part, are thoughtful, conscientious individuals who have thought their position through and just do not agree with the reasons for which the US has become involved in the Gulf or with war in general. It seems, however, that there are a few people who, rather than attempting to present their views in a more conventional forum, have chosen to etch those stirring words, "Fuck the war," in red stencil on trash cans outside the Yale Repertory Theater. This behavior is unfortunate because it has earned for all those opposed to the war such wonderful epithets as "unpatriotic," "nut-cases," and "maniacs." These labels ignore the fact that anti-war protesters support the troops and pray for their safety just as strongly as everyone else; they merely disagree with our government's course of action in Kuwait and seek to make their views known in an attempt to encourage leaders to work towards a peaceful settlement through diplomacy rather than through battle and the destruction which accompanies it. The graffitist or graffitists, therefore, have irrevocably damaged the efforts of those protesters whose arguments have been presented in a more reasonable manner. The cause of free speech has also been damaged by those who have used methods so extreme as to cause a great backlash on the part of the general

As a result of the graffiti, legitimate protests have been given a bad name

public.

Why, then, did the graffitist or graffitists choose this particular course of action? Several possible explanations should be considered. They may have felt that their views were not receiving adequate attention and so decided to take an action that would be viewed as controversial and extreme so as to draw attention to their viewpoint. Individuals or groups with unpopular views often feel so disenfranchised that they believe they must resort to desperate actions to receive any recognition at all. Although actions such as these are often viewed with repugnance by the general public, they often do achieve their goals of attracting attention to their viewpoints. The graffiti could thus have been seen as a way of raising the level of consciousness of people on campus. A less palatable alternative is that these were random acts of destruction with no political motive at all. With all the pressure on campus to be "politically correct," a more important factor is sometimes forgotten: PA—Political Awareness. This pressure may drive people to attempt to become involved in the "right" causes without any rational belief of their own motivating their actions.

Whatever the motives behind the graffiti might have been, the results are clear. First of all, legitimate anti-war protests have been given a bad name. In addition, an almost unbridgeable rift now exists between people espousing differing ideologies on campus, and, despite a clean-up effort, there are still the hints of the two red paint splotches on the World War I memorial. Time will pass and the graffiti will be cleaned away, the war will eventually end, and the controversy will eventually die down, but it is important to learn the lessons both from the war in the Gulf and the controversy here at home. If we cannot talk logically and reason our way through philosophical differences at home, we cannot hope to unite differing ideologies abroad.

All things considered, the graffitists will have to use more articulate, effective methods of airing their beliefs in the future, for however noble their goals might have been, their methods were base. I hope tonight everyone involved on both sides of the debate on the war in the Gulf will take a minute to pray, meditate, or hope for a swift end to the conflict in the Gulf. While we do this, let us hope for a little understanding here at home as well.

The War in the Gulf *Daily Summaries of the First Month of War* 17

16 January: At 4:50 PM EST warplanes took off from their bases. Just before 7:00 PM reporters in Baghdad observed anti-aircraft fire and bombs going off in the distance. President Bush issued a short statement: "The liberation of Kuwait has begun. In conjunction with our coalition partners, the United States has moved under the name Operation Desert Storm to enforce the mandates of the United Nations Security Council." The stated goals of the air attack are to damage C₃I centers, knock out air defenses, and destroy Iraq's Scud missiles. Ships in the Persian Gulf have launched over 100 Tomahawk cruise missiles at targets in Iraq. By the end of the day, only 2 coalition planes have been shot down. The Iraqi air force has made no concerted effort to contest the coalition forces in the skies over the Gulf; instead military commanders report that Iraqi planes are fleeing from bases in Southern Iraq to Northern Iraq. Leaders insist that the war should be a short one, and that air superiority could be gained in only 48 hours. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney warns against over-optimism, saying that the war could continue for a long time and the press should not get the nation's hopes up.

17 January: At 7:30 PM 8 Iraqi Scud missiles landed in Tel Aviv, destroying property but claiming no lives. At the insistence of the US, Israel has not retaliated, predicating this and future decisions to retaliate on the extent of the damage caused by the Scuds, the success of coalition forces in destroying the launchers, and the political consequences of Israeli intervention. The coalition has responded to the Iraqi attack by increasing efforts to neutralize the Scud launchers.

18-19 January: After two days of concentrated bombing, Baghdad has been cut off from electricity and telephone service, and water supplies are reduced. The coalition attacks continue around

the clock, focusing on C₃I centers and Scud missile launchers. Iraq launched another Scud attack at Israel on 19 January, but this inflicted no significant casualties. The coalition continues to have difficulties destroying Iraqi mobile missile launchers.

20 January: The United States is delivering Patriot anti-missile missiles to Israel to be operated by American personnel. The bombing of Iraq continues. Military reports indicate that Iraqi nuclear facilities have been destroyed. The military asserts that its missions have been 80% effective, but estimates were lower because of cloudy weather. Iraq broadcast interviews with 7 captured coalition pilots, of whom 3 are American. Their appearance on television was apparently coerced, and some looked as though they had been beaten in captivity.

21 January: Lt. General Thomas Kelley states that the coalition does not wish to engage in a ground war. He says that the coalition is continuing to attack sites in Iraq, attempting to destroy Scud launchers and other military sites. A poll conducted by the *New York Times* and CBS shows that support for the war has increased dramatically. Before the war President Bush's approval rating was 66%; now it has risen to 82%. Support for military action has increased from 47% to 75%.

22 January: Israel was attacked again during the night and for the first time sustained casualties: 3 people were killed and 70 wounded when a single Scud landed in a densely populated area. Patriot missiles failed in two attempts to down the incoming Scud. Israel asked the US for financial aid to pay for the recent military build-up. Israel continues to avoid confronting Iraq directly and says

The Battle of the Missiles

The Scud missile ("Scud" is the NATO reporting name for the SS-1 battlefield support missile) was developed in the 1950s by the USSR. It carries a relatively small conventional payload (its 2000lbs of HE are the equivalent of one of the many thousands of bombs the coalition forces have dropped on Iraq), although it can support nuclear and chemical payloads as well. It was designed to strike large targets (airfields, marshalling points, depots, and so forth) behind NATO lines with nuclear weapons. That mission did not place excessive demands on its relatively primitive guidance system and short range (Scud C or "Al-Hussein" has a range of about 280 miles). Its inaccuracy and small payload render it militarily useless for Iraq, however, as the Iraqi armed forces do not possess enough Scuds to mount an effective assault. However

effective the Scud might otherwise have been for Iraq, though, it has been almost totally neutralized by the Patriot Tactical Air Defense System.

Designed in the 1970s as a flexible and effective anti-aircraft missile, the Patriot program was then expanded and a missile system was produced which is capable of outmaneuvering and destroying any air-breathing threat, that is, aircraft or cruise missile. In the mid-1980s the program was further developed, and the present Patriot system, capable of engaging and destroying tactical ballistic missiles, was created. The missile uses both its own systems and those of its launcher to track its target and it uses 4 aerodynamic control surfaces on its tail fins to maneuver itself into its target's path. When it has come within range, its HE warhead explodes, sending shrapnel at high speed through its target and literally ripping it to shreds. It has proven itself to be extremely capable of protecting the coalition forces from Scud attacks.



Official US Army Photograph

Patriot missile launched for an intercept test. Like the Scud, the Patriot's transporter is also its launcher, although the Patriot is a solid-fuel missile and is ready to be fired as soon as it leaves the factory. Scuds, on the other hand, must be loaded with their liquid fuel. The process takes about an hour.

that it will defer to US wishes that it not retaliate. To date 30 Scuds have been launched against Israel and Saudi Arabia, all armed with conventional HE warheads. US and Iraqi forces meet in the first ground skirmish of the war: A coalition patrol on the Saudi-Iraqi border traded small arms fire with an Iraqi border patrol. Two coalition soldiers were wounded and the Iraqis were forced to retreat. Six Iraqis were captured.

23 January: Reports indicate that the coalition has destroyed 41 Iraqi aircraft to date, including 19 shot down during aerial combat. The coalition thus far has lost 16 aircraft, including one which was shot down by an Iraqi MiG-29 and a Mirage F-1. Chairman of the JCS Gen. Colin Powell reports that the coalition has destroyed a Silkworm site, several Iraqi patrol boats, and 24 mines in the Gulf.

24 January: A Saudi pilot flying an F-15 shot down two Iraqi Mirage F-1s armed with Exocet missiles. An Iraqi minesweeper sank when it hit an Iraqi mine, and an American helicopter rescued and interned 22 of its crewmen. The helicopter then took 29 additional Iraqi prisoners from the Kuwaiti island of Qura. An F-16 was hit over Kuwait, but the pilot was able to glide over the water and eject safely. A British Tornado was shot down over Kuwait, and the French, reversing previous doctrine, have begun to fly sorties into Iraq. Iraq closed its border with Jordan.

25 January: Although Patriot missiles intercepted the 7 Scud missiles fired at Haifa and Tel Aviv, the resulting debris killed one person and injured 42 others when it landed in residential areas. Another Scud landed in Riyadh, killing one. Iraq seems to be deliberately flooding the Persian Gulf with Kuwaiti oil. Iraqi prisoners of war are reported to be malnourished and in poor health.

26 January: Between 7 and 20 Iraqi airplanes have landed in Iran, one of which crashed upon landing. The Iranian government says that these aircraft will be impounded for the duration of the war. Patriot missiles intercepted 5 Scuds over Israel and one over Saudi Arabia. The oil spill is now 40 miles long and 8 miles wide, moving south. Late tonight, F-111s using GBU-15 bombs sealed the pipelines through which the oil had been entering the Gulf.

27 January: US pilots flying F-15s eliminated 4 Iraqi-piloted MiG-23s in a dogfight. Officials report that the coalition has damaged 16 mobile Scud launchers, and the British report that they have destroyed a Silkworm surface-to-surface

missile launching site. Officials also say that the oil slick will not hamper amphibious assaults.

28 January: 80 Iraqi planes, including 60 fighters and bombers, have landed in Iran and have been impounded there. A Marine Corps Harrier was shot down over Kuwait during one of the 2,000 sorties flown today. The RAF has added the laser-targeting Buccaneer bomber to its other aircraft in the Gulf to fly more intensive missions. The estimated 460 million gallons of oil dumped into the Gulf are within 100 miles of the Saudi desalination plant which provides fresh water for coalition troops.

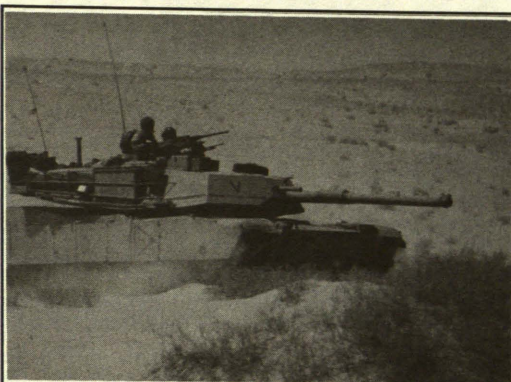
29 January: Heavy air fighting in the Gulf continues, as coalition forces fly over 2,600 missions. More Iraqi warplanes flee to Iran, bringing the total number of refugee planes to 90. Iran insists that the planes will be impounded for the duration of the war. President Bush, in his State of the Union address, promises that America's "indomitable spirit" will bring "victory for world peace and justice." Israeli officials warn that Israel may eventually have to respond to missile attacks from Iraq. American military officials say that although Iraq's ability to produce more chemical weapons has been destroyed, Iraq still has vast stocks of nerve gas and germ agents.

30 January: Three Iraqi tank battalions launched a surprise attack against coalition forces in Saudi Arabia near the Kuwaiti border in the first sustained ground combat of the war. The Iraqi forces took the abandoned town of Khafji, but eventually they were driven back by US marines and Arab infantry. As a result of constant bombing, the Iraqis have been forced to give up central control of their air defense systems. According to the US command at Riyadh, coalition forces have achieved "air supremacy."

31 January: After a thirty-six hour struggle, American and Saudi forces have completely driven the Iraqis out of Khafji. 60,000 Iraqi troops are gathering near the Kuwaiti town of Wafra on the Saudi border, indicating that another, more powerful Iraqi attack may be coming. Eleven US marines were killed in the fighting. Meanwhile, it is reported that there is growing support for Saddam Hussein among Arabs.

1 February: As coalition forces continue to dominate the air, there are no further signs of any Iraqi movement into Saudi Arabia, and fears of such an attack are fading. Baghdad has been ravaged by the bombing and its electricity and telephone service have been cut.

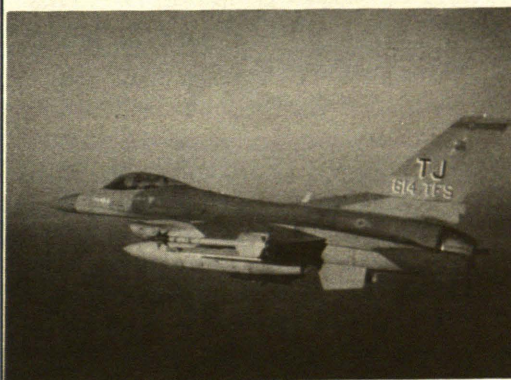
2 February: CENTCOM announces that coalition forces have crushed the small but dangerous Iraqi



Official US Army Photo by the 49th PAD

AirLand Battle

AirLand battle is a doctrine developed by the US armed forces to overcome the numerical superiority of the Warsaw Pact forces on the Central Front in Europe. It calls for the integration of land, sea, and air forces into one coordinated effort to overcome the enemy. Air forces are to be used tactically in close air support missions to assist ground forces in battle. A-10s, for example, would be used in coordination with armored units to destroy enemy armored formations. Air forces would also be used to execute missions in the enemy's rear so as to destroy his reserves, supplies, and logistical systems. The effectiveness of combined air and ground attacks has been demonstrated in Iraq, where the coalition almost immediately gained total air superiority, paralyzed Iraq's ground forces, and eliminated many of them before the coalition's ground forces even entered the fray. The ability of coalition forces to call in tactical air strikes during the ground campaign, further, has without doubt greatly reduced the number of casualties suffered by coalition troops.



Official US Air Force Photograph

M-1 tank on patrol in the Saudi desert. M-1 carries a 120mm gun firing armor-piercing rounds.

19

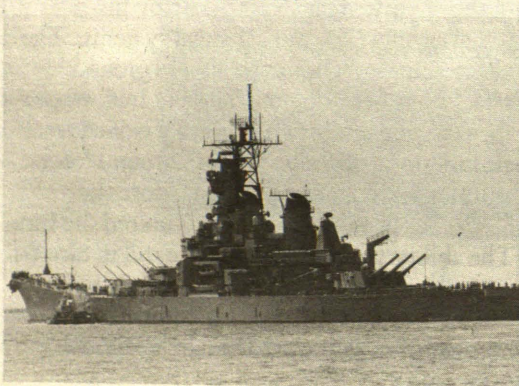
The F-16 is a fast, agile dogfighter. It can outmaneuver many of its opponents and defeat them with heat-seeking missiles or cannon. It can also be used in an attack mode.

20

navy, a fleet consisting mainly of small vessels armed with anti-ship missiles. The Pentagon refuses to estimate the number of deaths in Iraq that have resulted from coalition bombing. Iran rejects an appeal by an Iraqi envoy for the return of almost 100 Iraqi warplanes that have flown to that country.

3 February: Coalition warplanes continue their intensive bombardment of Iraqi military positions, concentrating on supply lines and reinforced concrete bunkers, which hide many Iraqi aircraft, according to American officers. An American B-52 bomber crashed in the Indian Ocean; 3 crewmen were rescued, but the remaining 3 are still missing. The number of US troops stationed in the Gulf has surpassed 500,000 as reinforcements have arrived from Germany.

4 February: General H. Norman Schwarzkopf says that although there is no end to Saddam Hussein's determination, the will of the Iraqi army can be broken, and that coalition forces are "making great progress in that direction." Meanwhile, Defense Secretary Cheney warns that there are still many uncertainties and that no quick victory is in sight. The battleship Missouri entered combat for the first time since the Korean war, shelling Iraqi command bunkers near the Kuwaiti coast.



US Navy Photo by PH2 Michael D. P. Flynn

The USS Missouri is an Iowa-class battleship. The Iowas were built during World War II to oppose the large Japanese battleships. They have since been converted into large surface-to-surface missile and gun platforms, capable of delivering guided missiles as well as 2000lb shells from their 16" guns accurately and from a safe distance.

5 February: Questions have been raised about the effectiveness of coalition air raids. Bad weather has delayed air missions, and Iraqi Scud missile attacks have diverted assets from their primary objectives. The Iraqis, further, are proving very adept at getting around damage to their infrastructure such as bombed bridges and roads, and the thousands of small supply depots which connect, underground, to military installations are difficult to hit accurately enough to destroy. President Bush expresses doubt that an air war alone can defeat Iraq and announces that

JCS Chairman Powell and Defense Secretary Cheney will be traveling to the Gulf to determine whether a ground war will indeed be necessary.

6 February: Senior coalition officers insist that the air campaign has weakened Iraq's military forces, especially the Republican Guards, but add that continued bombing is needed before a ground offensive can begin. In the political arena, Iraq severs diplomatic ties with six members of the coalition: the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Jordan's King Hussein ends his neutrality by declaring for Iraq and asserting that the coalition forces seek to return Iraq to a "primitive life." Secretary of State James Baker says that the US is likely to assume a military role in the Persian Gulf in the future and will probably provide international economic aid. Baker implied that Saddam Hussein will not be a part of that future. The Iraqis are maintaining their accusations that the coalition forces target civilians.

7 February: Senior coalition military officials announce plans to step up the aerial campaign. Missions, which previously numbered 2,500 per day, will increase both in quantity and intensity, specifically targetting Iraqi troop positions. Coalition forces continue to bomb Baghdad as well as other military sites. In parallel action, the Israelis ventured forth from their security zone to attack the PLO in southern Lebanon. This may be an alternative to responding to Iraqi Scud missile attacks.

8 February: Brig. General Buster C. Glosson blamed dense cloud cover for delaying the air campaign by a week. He expressed confidence, however, that an Iraqi defeat is inevitable regardless of weather conditions. Secretary of Defense Cheney says that both ground and amphibious assaults will be needed completely to eradicate the Iraqi military threat. The Iraqi government vows to avenge the civilian deaths caused by the air campaign; President Bush and his advisors are denying that coalition forces are deliberately bombing civilian areas. The Iraqis also launched another Scud missile into central Israel, wounding several people. Washington is applying pressure on Jordan not to commit its forces to the campaign.

9 February: Defense Secretary Cheney and Chairman of the JCS Powell met for nine hours with US field commanders in the Persian Gulf. They discussed the ground campaign which, it was felt, will probably start in about two weeks.

What Do Political Science and Video Have In Common? A lot.

Win Wender's Alice in the Cities
Fassbinder's Ali's Fear Eats the Soul
Rasputin
Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears
The Red and the White
Eisenstein's October
Repentance
Andrei Roublev
Partisans of Vilna
Commissar
Red Beard
Throne of Blood
The Original 1984
Mau Mau
The War Game
Colluden
The Good Fight
Boca del Lobo
Shoah
Wedding In Galilee
Lang's Testament of Dr. Mabuse

Wertmuller's Love and Anarchy
Ayn Rand's We the Living
A Question of Silence
The Wannsee Conference
Alphaville
Battle of Algiers
Danton
Best Evidence: the Kennedy Assassination Research Tape
Martin Luther King: I Have a Dream
Assassination of Trotsky
Pasolini's African Orestes
Mysteries of the Organism
Capra's State of the Union
The Trial and the Castle
Genet's Balcony
Orson Welles' Falstaff
Black and White in Color
Man of Marble
Woyzeck
Stroszek

Bertolucci's 1900
The Damned
The Tin Drum
Colonel Redl
When the Green Ants Dream
Ken Burns' The Civil War
Polanski's Knife in the Water
The Lost Honor of Katherina Blum
Advise and Consent
Israel's Shattered Dream/Who Shall Live and Who Shall Die?
The Godfather Epic
Judgment at Nuremberg
Last Exit to Brooklyn
Six Wives of Henry VIII
Powagqatsi
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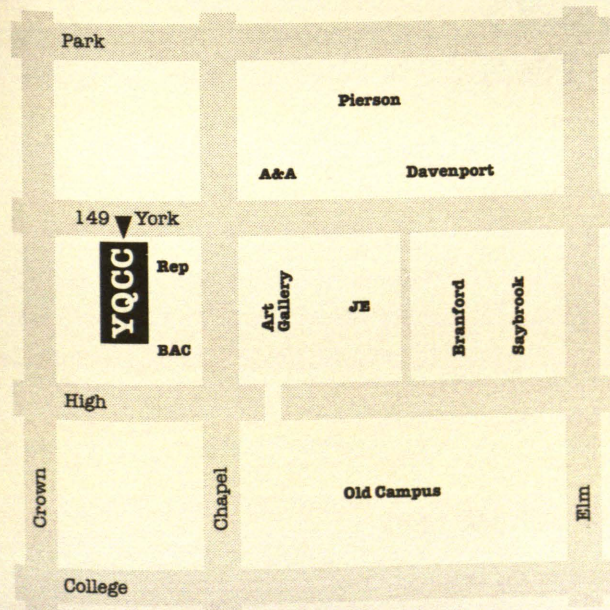


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